

## Message Text

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ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 NEA-10 IO-13 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-12

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01 H-02

NSC-10 SS-15 RSR-01 /153 W

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R 290734 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9390

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

USLOSSA CLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCO SOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

AMEMBASSY ATHENS UNN

AMEMBASSY ANKARA UNN

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE UNN

AMEMBASSY SOFIA UNN

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE UNN

AMEMBASSY OTTAW UNN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN

AMEMBASSY MADRID UNN

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GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM US REP MBFR

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: MBFR: JUNE 27 AD HOC GROUP MEETING

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AD HOC GROUP NOTED SOVIET STATEMENTS AT QUADRI-  
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LATERAL EARLIER IN THE DAY ON CONVENING PLENARIES AND ON THE POS-  
SIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS IN THE  
NEGOTIATIONS. GROUP DECIDED NO FURTHER ACTION ON THIS POINT WAS  
NECESSARY AT THIS TIME. GROUP HEARD ORAL REPORT OF US AND FRG REPS'

CONTACTS WITH ROMANIAN REP, AND READ DRAFT OF HIS PLENARY STATEMENT. GROUP AGREED THAT, IF BUCHAREST WERE TO AGREE TO THE MUCH REVISED AND SHORTENED VERSION WHICH CONSTANTINESCU SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND, NO WESTERN STATEMENT WOULD BE NECESSARY. IF BUCHAREST INSISTED THAT ROMANIAN REP USE HIS FULL TEXT, GROUP FELT THAT IN VIEW OF ALL THE OBJECTIONABLE POINTS IN THE ROMANIAN TEXT A WESTERN RESPONSE WOULD BE NEEDED. GROUP AGREED ON A ONE- SENTENCE REPLY TO BE GIVEN BY UK REP. DURING COURSE OF MEETING CONSTANTINESCU CALLED US REP TO SAY BUCHAREST

HAD INSTRUCTED HIM TO PROCEED WITH ORIGINAL STATEMENT. FRG REP TELEPHONED SOVIET REP AND TOLD HIM OF WESTERN INTENTION TO REPLY IN THIS FASHION AND KLESTOV SAID THERE WOULD BE NO EASTERN STATEMENT. GROUP GAVE FINAL READING TO STATEMENT AND QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS TO BE USED BY DUTCH REP AT WESTERN PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER JUNE 28 PLENARY. END SUMMARY.

2. REPORT ON QUADRILATERAL: US AND FRG REPS DISTRIBUTED REPORT ON JUNE 27 QUADRILATERAL ( VIENNA 5384). WITH REGARD TO SOVIET STATEMENT THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT WHEN PLENARIES WERE CALLED FOR THEY WOULD BE HELD, ITALIAN DEP REP SAID SOVIET CONFIRMATION OF UNDERSTAND WAS USEFUL. HE FELT WEST SHOULD NOT REACT FURTHER. TURKISH REP ( UNAN) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THAT THERE SHOULD NOT BE ANY DISTINCTION

BETWEEN DIRECT AND INDIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN CONNECTION WITH CALLING FOR PLENARIES. HE ARGUED THAT RIGHT TO CALL PLENARIES SHOULD BE REGARDED NOT AS AN EXTENSION OF THE RIGHTS OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO MAKE DECISIONS BUT AS EXTENSION OF RIGHT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO SPEAK. HIS AUTHORITIES PREFERRED TO HAVE THE MATTER DISCUSSED FURTHER IN NATO.

3. FRG AND US REPS SUGGESTED THAT IF SOVIET REP SHOULD RAISE THE QUESTION AGAIN, THEY SHOULD SAY SIMPLY THAT THE SOVIET STATEMENT HAD BEEN NOTED AND WOULD BE REPORTED TO WESTERN AUTHORITIES. COMMENT: THIS FORMULA WAS CALCULATED TO FIX SOVIET AGREEMENT TO BASIC PRINCIPLE OF HOLDING PLENARIES WHEN ASKED WITHOUT ENGAGING AD HOC GROUP IN FURTHER DISCUSSION OF RIGHTS OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT PARTICIPANTS. ITALIAN DEP REP ( TALIANI) HOPED WESTERN SPOKESMAN MIGHT CONFIDENTIAL

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ADD THAT IDEA OF EXCLUSIVE ROLE OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN CALLING PLENARIES WAS A SOVIET AND NOT A WESTERN POSITION, BUT SUBSIDED WHEN US REP EXPLAINED THAT THERE PROBABLY WOULD BE NO OCCASION FOR ANY BUT THE VERY BRIEFEST DISCUSSION. IN RESPONSE TO TURKISH QUESTION, US REP EXPLAINED THAT THE REASON FOR THE SOVIETS NOT CLARIFYING THEIR POSITION ON THE ROLE OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN CALLING PLENARIES

IN THE EASTERN GROUP WAS APPARENTLY TO AVOID AN ARGUMENT WITH THE ROMANIANS.

4. UK REP ( THOMSON), ANTICIPATING NATO DISCUSSION WHICH TURKISH REP HAD MENTIONED, MADE A STRONG PLEA TO FLANK COUNTRIES TO BEAR IN MIND THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN - THAT IF FLANK PARTICIPANTS COULD CALL

PLENARIES, ROMANIANS MIGHT CALL THEM FOR PURPOSES OF THEIR OWN AND BY CALLING FOR THEM TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO SET THE TOPICS OF DISCUSSION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID ONE SHOULD THINK " LONG AND HARD" IN NATO BEFORE " OPENING THE FLOODGATES" TO ROMANIAN PROPOSALS. DANISH REP ( POULSEN) SAID HE COULD AGREE TO LIMITING RIGHT TO CALL PLENARIES TO DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, BUT SAID THAT MATTER NEED NOT BE SETTLED HERE AND NOW AND COULD BE LEFT TO FURTHER NATO DISCUSSION. ACTING GREEK REP ( PHILON) THOUGHT UK REP WAS OVERSTATING DEGREE OF LEVERAGE OVER NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THE ROMANIANS MIGHT ACQUIRE, BUT DID NOT PRESS THE ARGUMENT. DUTCH REP SUPPORTED UK REP AND SO DI US REP. US REP SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PROTECT WHAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN

SECURING FOR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS THE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION, AND THAT THE IMPORTANT DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE RIGHT TO SPEAK AND THE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE TOPICS FOR NEGOTIATION NOT BE BLURRED DURING DISCUSSION OF THE CALLING OF PLENARIES.

5. FRG CHAIRMAN ASKED FOR VIEWS OF SOVIET STATEMENT RECOGNIZING THE POSSIBILITY OF ESTABLISHING OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS. ITALIAN DEP REP FELT THE SOVIET STATE-

MENT WAS TOO VAGUE. THE VIEW OF HIS GOVERNMENT WAS THAT WORKING ROUPS SHOULD BE OPEN- ENDED. HE WANTED TO MAKE ANOTHER STATEMENT TO CLARIFY THE WESTERN POSITION. US REP OBSERVED THAT ITALIAN DEP REP NOT TAKING SUFFICIENT ACCOUNT OF THE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET POSITION ON THIS MATTER. AT THE OUTSET, THE SOVIETS HAD THE OBJECTIVE OF A SINGLE WORKING ORGAN. US AND UK REPS HAD BEEN ABLE TO DRAW SOVIETS INTO REFERRING TO WORKING GROUPS IN THE PLURAL. SOVIET

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POSITION HAS NOW EVOLVED STILL FURTHER, US REP CONTINUED, WITH THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION OF FLANK COUNTRIES IN OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS. US REP FLET IT WAS IMPORTANT TO WEST NOT TO MAKE FURTHER MOVEMENT IN THE SOVIET POSITION MORE DIFFICULT. WEST HAD OBTAINED A CONSIDERABLE ADVANCE OVER THE ORIGINAL SOVIET POSITION, AND IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO ADVANCE FURTHER IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. UK REP SUPPORTED US REP, SAYING THAT ANOTHER STATEMENT

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9391

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WOULD ONLY WEAKEN WHAT HAD BEEN GAINED SO FAR. IT WOULD INVITE A RESPONSE. IF MATTERS LEFT AS THEY NOW STOOD, THE COMMUNIQUE TEXT WOULD BE THE LAST WORD. UK REP MOVED TO CLOSE OFF DISCUSSION, NOTING THAT GROUP HAD URGENT BUSINESS OF PREPARATION FOR FINAL PLENARY AND PRESS CONFERENCE STILL BEFORE IT.

6. FRG REP PROPOSED THAT IF THERE WERE ANY FURTHER CONVERSATION SPOKESMEN WOULD SIMPLY NOTE THE SOVIET STATEMENT AS A USEFUL CLARIFICATION WHICH WOULD BE REPORTED, I. E. THE SAME APPROACH TO BE USED

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IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATEMENT ON PLENARIES. ACTING TURKISH REP AGREED. HE FELT THE SOVIET MOVE REPRESENTED A SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT " AND SOMETHING TO BUILD ON FURTHER." ACTING GREEK REP JOINED HIM IN THANKING EMISSARIES FOR THEIR EFFORTS AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF CONCRETE RESULTS ON THIS POINT.

7. ROMANIAN STATEMENT: FRG REP PROVIDED AD HOC GROUP WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS AND US REP'S JUNE 26 AND 27 CONVERSATIONS WITH ROMANIAN REP. FRG REP PROVIDED TEXT OF ROMANIAN STATEMENT WHICH CONSTANTINESCU GAVE THEM ( VIENNA 5334) AND OF MUCH BRIEFER STATEMENT WHICH THEY HAD AFTER INTENSIVE DISCUSSION SUGGESTED TO ROMANIAN REP AND WHICH LATTER HAD EARLIER IN THE DAY AGREED TO FORWARD TO BUCHAREST. THIS MUCH SHORTENED VERSION WOULD HAVE READ: BEGIN TEXT: IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE REFERENCE TO " EACH PARTY" IN THE SENTENCE OF THE FINAL COMMU-

NIQUE WHICH READS, " THEY ALSO AGREED THAT SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY WORKED OUT IN SCOPE AND TIMING IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY WILL IN ALL RESPECTS AND AT EVERY POINT CONFORM TO THE

PRINCIPLE OF UNDMINISHED SECURITY FOR EACH PARTY", SHOULD BE  
INTERPRETED AS MEANING THAT THE UNDMINISHED SECURITY OF ALL PAR-  
TICIPANTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD NOT BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED  
THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS WHICH MIGHT BE AGREED, AND THAT THE PARTICIPANTS  
WILL BEAR IN MIND THE BROADER CONTEXT OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. END TEXT.

8. US REP SUPPLEMENTED FRG REP'S ACCOUNT WITH DESCRIPTION OF ARGU-  
MENTS MADE TO AMB BOGDAN IN WASHINGTON ( DEPTEL 125122). AD HOC  
GROUP AGREED THAT IF ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES WOULD ACCEPT SHORT TEXT,  
NO WESTERN REPLY WOULD BE NECESSARY. ACTING GREEK REP SAID  
NEW TEXT WAS WHOLLY ACCEPTABLE TO HIM AND WONDERED WHETHER IT COULD  
BE READ BY CHAIRMAN AS AGREED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS TO INCREASE ITS  
ACCEPTABILITY TO ROMANIANS. US REP EXPLAINED THAT SOVIET REP WOULD  
PROBABLY OBJECT. HE BELIEVED THAT THE UNDERLYING REASON FOR SOVIET  
REP'S REFUSAL TO AMEND THE PART OF COMMUNIQUE TEXT DEALING WITH UN-  
DMINISHED SECURITY WAS A RELUCTANCE TO PROVIDE ROMANIANS WITH  
LANGUAGE WHICH GAVE THEM A BROADER CHARTER TO CRITICIZE POSSIBLE  
AGREEMENTS. THE ROMANIANS, US REP EXPLAINED, HAD BEEN FRUSTRATED  
IN THEIR EFFORTS TO GET ACCEPTANCE OF THEIR VIEWS IN THE EASTERN  
GROUP AND WERE NOW TRYING TO CARRY OUT THEIR ARGUEMENTS WITH THE  
SOVIETS IN THE PLENARY, WHERE IT AFFECTED WESTERN AS WELL AS SOVIET  
INTERESTS. TO THE DEGREE THAT THE NEW LANGUAGE DID GIVE THE ROMAN-  
IANS SOME GREATER VOICE AT THE CONFERENCE, THE SOVIETS WERE LIKELY TO  
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OBJECT TO IT. NEVERTHELESS, US REP ACCEPTED GREEK REP'S POINT THAT  
IDEA OF CHAIRMAN'S READING THE SHORT STATEMENT MIGHT BE KEPT AS A  
FALLBACK SHOULD BUCHAREST INSIST ON GIVING IT GREATER STATUS.

9. FRG REP ASKED GROUP TO CONSIDER WHAT ITS RESPONSE WOULD BE IF  
BUCHAREST INSISTED ON THE ORIGINAL, LONGER ROMANIAN TEXT. UK REP  
FELT STRONGLY THAT A RESPONSE WOULD BE CALLED FOR. US REP URGED  
THAT, IF ROMANIAN REP HAD TO READ HIS FULL TEXT, WESTERN REPLY BE  
THE BRIEFEST POSSIBLE. HIS OWN PREFERENE WOULD BE TO SAY NOTHING  
AND NOT TEMPT THE SOVIETS TO TRY TO EXPLOIT POINTS IN THE  
ROMANIAN STATEMENT THEY LIKED THROUGH MAKING ALLIED STATEMENT. US  
REP FELT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TOO FOR A WESTERN SPOKESMAN TO TRY TO  
GET INTO A DISCUSSION OF WHICH PARTS OF THE STATEMENT WEST OB-  
JECTED TO. IF GROUP FELT A STATEMENT WAS NEEDED, US REP SUGGESTED  
IT BE VERY SIMPLE AND MERELY SAY THAT ROMANIAN STATEMENT WAS  
" UNILATERAL" AND CONTAINED CERTAIN " INACCURACIES." DUTCH REP ( QUARLES)

BELIEVED THAT ROMANIANS SHOULD BE ANSWERED AT PRESS CONFERENCE RATHER  
THAN AT THE PLENARY. ITALIAN DEP REP FLET IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE  
TO CAST ANY RESPONSE WHICH HAD TO BE MADE IN POSITIVE TERMS IDEN-  
TIFYING WHAT WEST AGREED WITH. ACTING GREEK REP AGREED, AND SUGGESTED  
COMBINING THE SENTENCE SUGGESTED WITH A PARAGRAPH ALONG LINES OF  
SHORT VERSION OF ROMANIAN STATEMENT. UK REP REACTED SHARPLY, SAYING HE

FELT IT WAS HARDLY FAIR FOR THE ROMANIANS TO GET SUCH A STATEMENT  
FROM THE WEST AFTER THEY DECLINED TO MAKE IT THEMSELVES. HE WAS  
REPLUSED AT THE THOUGHT OF GIVING THE ROMANIANS A REWARD FOR

THEIR UNCOOPERATIVENESS.

10. DANISH REP SAID HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD WANT TO ANSWER BUT HE ACCEPTED THRUST OF US REP'S COMMENTS. CANADIAN AND ACTING TURKISH REPS WERE PREPARED TO REMAIN SILENT. US REP SAID HE HAD HEARD HIS COLLEAGUES COMMENTS AND REREAD THE DRAFT OF THE LONG ROMANIAN STATEMENT. THE TEXT WAS, IN HIS OPINION, CONSIDERABLY MORE REPUGNANT THAN CONSTANTINESCU HAD INDICATED IT WAS TO BE IN EARLIER CONVERSATIONS. HE FELT ONE REP SPEAKING FOR THE WEST MIGHT DESCRIBE THE ROMANIAN STATEMENT AS "INACCURATE" AND "UNILATERAL."

11. UK REP SUPPORTED THIS APPROACH. HE ACCEPTED ARGUMENTS THAT A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION WITH THE ROMANIANS WAS UNDESIRABLE LEST THE WEST BE PUT IN THE POSITION OF DURING MOSCOW'S WORK IN ARGUING WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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BUCHAREST. HE BELIEVED THAT A VERY SHORT WESTERN STATEMENT AT PLENARY WOULD BE USEFUL IN THAT CONNECTION. IF ASKED BY THE PRESS ABOUT THE ROMANIAN POSITION, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SAY SIMPLY THAT AT THE PLENARY IT HAD BEEN CRITICIZED FOR CERTAIN INACCURACIES, BUT THAT THE DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSION WERE CONFIDENTIAL. HE FELT IT WAS BETTER TO NAIL THE ROMANIAN STATEMENT IN ONE SHORT INITIAL STATEMENT THAN TO BE FORCED BACK AND HAVE TO ARGUE WITH IT IN PUBLIC POINT BY POINT. GROUP AGREED UNANIMOUSLY TO FOLLOW US SUGGESTION OF A VERY SHORT STATEMENT AT THE PLENARY.

12. MEETING WAS INTERRUPTED BRIEFLY BY CONSTANTINESCU'S TELEPHONE TO US REP TO SAY THAT BUCHAREST HAD REJECTED HIS PROPOSAL AND THAT REGRETFULLY HE WOULD HAVE TO READ HIS ORIGINAL STATEMENT IN FULL. FRG REP THEN TELEPHONED SOVIET REP TO TELL HIM HOW WEST PLANNED TO REPLY TO ROMANIAN STATEMENT, AND KHLESTOV INDICATED THAT IN VIEW OF BREVITY OF WESTERN STATEMENT EAST WOULD REMAIN SILENT.

13. PRESS CONFERENCE: GROUP GAVE FINAL READING TO PRESS STATEMENTS TO BE USED BY DUTCH REP QUARLES, MAKING MINOR AMENDMENTS (TEXT BY AIRGRAM). HUMES

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GENEVA  
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